

574 Aimeri, nemejig eng-aji oo-7-
Kishumu, amu mme en-o-7-
puru luya.

Kake ekilikwan, ajo:
'Kodes 'ng-ajjik oo-7-Aimeri'
Ore p' etaduai, nejig eng-aji
nabo.

Ore pe ejig, nelytito lido-
opony eng-aji, nelo aligwa 'n-
giragat ti-oo-waji, nelen ci-
omoni abilitare o-figortyal.

Araki ten nate ci-opony eng-
aji 'figortyak kumek, nelo
aligwa, neliigwaki ci-omoni
inna-aji natijiga neliigwa.

Meldim ci-tufgani loo-7-
Maame etimilik ci-omoni en-
giragata, amu tura, ten edek
ci-puru luya, nta.

Instance, to the Aimer age, he must
not enter the hut of one of the
Kishumu age, as he does not belong
to this age.

He will ask where the huts of the
members of the Aimer age are, and
when he has been shown them, he
will enter one.

When he has entered, the owner
of the hut leaves him and goes to
search for a place to sleep in else-
where, the stranger remaining with
his wife.

Or if the owner of the hut has
several wives, he goes to sleep with
one of these, leaving the stranger in
the hut he entered.

A Masai cannot refuse hospitality
to a stranger (of his own age) for he
is afraid that the other members of
his age will curse him, and he will
die.

233 'N-glahu', oo 'n-gujit, oo kulla.
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Eyur B-Maame 'n-glahu
nabig; melleanyanyake 'n-
glahu ne-tiki'. Keta 'n-glahu
pikin ing-arn eya amu 7-
tufgank.

Kali o-ruci luya ajo:

'Eriyure en-gitig nabo ci-
inghura o-7-lee.'

Ejo, ten o-tum ci-lee en-

Cattle, grass, and milk.

The Masai love their cattle very
much, and consider that nothing in
the world is of equal value. As
with people, each cow is known by
name.

There is a saying which is as
follows:

'One cow resembles a man's
head.'

They mean by this that if a man

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* Vide note a, p. 302.

* The Masai cattle are of the humped Zebu type.

* Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, vol. 1, p. 174) writes with regard to
the Dinka and other Nilotic tribes: 'The poor savage . . . pay almost
divine homage to their cattle which they hold dearer than wife or child.'
Keesen (Schweinfurth, p. 102) adds that on the death of a cow a Dinka
goes into mourning as he would if a relation had died.

682 oikopani eitu emut il-arin
aare, amu tjo eton eshal
el-lughunya e-lido ttaarakhi.

Ten far ol-Maasani likae-
Maasani, neji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikop';
neji, 'Etaarishe.' Neji ol-
ttaarishe naa ol-ttaara 'l-meek.

683 Naa, ten far ol-murani
ol-likae, pe eduug en-giok,
neishooyo lido tstuduigo ol-
likae e-supen e-karr. Naa,
ten far ol-likae, negil ol-oito,
a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina,
a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo
en-dauwo.

682 Naa, ten far ol-ayoni metua,
melaki anaa ol-murani, kake
eishoori 'l-buugaiko onom.

Masai until two years have elapsed,
for they say that the dead man's
head is still fresh¹.

When one Masai kills another,
it is called committing murder, it
is not called killing. Killing is
only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and
tears the lobe of his ear, he has to
pay a young ewe. If he breaks a
bone, either in his leg, arm, or head,
he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount
which has to be paid is not as great
as for a warrior, the price being fifty
young bulls.

En-giopo.

684 Metii ol-murani araki ol-
[561] ayoni oidim ataboitare en-gitok
o-'l-poror le-menya. Ten
eiyoluni, nedeki.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo
'n-gishu are, en-e-'n-aisho,
naaropye 'l-paiyani pe medek.
O ol-kiteug-tyeug il-paiyani
ten tok en-aisho.

836 Kake meikoni neja ten
837 eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-
[561] doiyee o-'l-poror lenya. 'Me
torono inna.

Adultery.

No warrior or boy may commit
adultery with a woman of his
father's age. If he does so, and it
becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two
oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine),
and he prays the elders to remove
the curse. The elders eat the ox
when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man
commits adultery or fornication with
a woman or girl of his own age.
This is not an offence².

¹ This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations
are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of
cattle.

[595] ² From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as
polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase,
and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children. 561

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. "His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered". Similarly, "if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. MERKER, says that a widow "must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class". This "sexual communism", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced. [582] [684] [837] [587] [837] [582]

At the performance of the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, *Unoto*, *Ngeherr* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Embolosat*, *Engibata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngeherr*-proper all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted. 561 552

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by MERKER, FOX, and FOSBROOKE.¹⁰⁰ FOSBROOKE has attempted

has been shown them, he will enter one. When he has entered, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will curse him, and he will die". [574] [754] [626]

¹⁰⁰ MERKER, l. c., p. 289; FOX, l. c., pp. 450, 462; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 11 s.

83 sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le'sotwa* and *en-e'sotwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.¹

581 The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children
583 which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control
837 over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and
[534 look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised,
835 sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one
age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of
exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse
with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai
may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the
whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans
and the rules regarding incest.

684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a
daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and
slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter
of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade.
His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are
laughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belong-
ing to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-
grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to
enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed
he will die.

835 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a
684 man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live
in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to
“kill the relationship” (*a-ar eng-anyil*).

843 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as
833 she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the
[856] child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this
rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of
682 a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to
684 abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kisuroto*. All the
833 women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty
person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can,
strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

834 Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when
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¹ For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 267. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

885 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look fiendish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats:

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
885 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of
[304] bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its
[302] effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon.
[301] Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking.
Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which
depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal
585 veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
885 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain
earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire
arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside
the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins,
one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder.
Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the
fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moran
had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month.
Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified
country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honey-
moon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What
our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know,
and this voracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

837 And now Moran's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very
particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous,
[842] asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If
a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree
not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here
prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we
might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household
will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

885 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married? His strict rules of diet were

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

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The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

[52] The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

[572] [583] 162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table:—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		Samatwa		Engasu- met		Longido		Total	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

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The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child—whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

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Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

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The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (*see below*), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married men of sub-clans other than her own.

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Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child.

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children.

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men.

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (see Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions.

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, i.e. of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received.

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837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

- (1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
- (2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
- (3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
- (4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
- (5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
- (6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
- (7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

684 *Breach of No. 1.*—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheep's urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse.

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (see p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

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Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *K-Uoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'eshar*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,¹ in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (see p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law

Mother-in-law

Son-in-law

Daughter-in-law

} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masaini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyenas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

¹ See p. 200 of this volume.

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his father's home or in his own manyata. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 587 588

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ay*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-eyi*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

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586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [587] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of [851] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no

[587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [837] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [851] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [837] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is [586] not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

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/footnote 1 cont./ husbands. Babies to whom a woman has given birth from thus living with another man belong to the husband, even though they also call their genitor father.

They abort an immature fetus when the woman has been made pregnant by another who is sick or old or feeble. Remedies in the form of a potion are used, which are said to be innoxious during the first two months of pregnancy. After two months of pregnancy they wait for parturition and kill the newborn child.

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They are accustomed to having intercourse lying on their sides, the woman's upper knee placed over the man's loins. They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight, lest the man's blood transferred to the vessels of his wife would retain nothing but water.

Boys and girls already begin to practice cohabitation at the age of eight to ten.

It is considered extremely shameless to break wind in the presence of women.

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Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. --
Confinement. -- Festivities in connection with the birth. -- Twins. --
Deformed child. -- Killing newborn children. -- Behavior of the
woman in childbed. -- The newborn child. -- Childhood. -- Chil-
dren's games.

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As soon as the woman feels pregnant, the spouses separate until after the nursing period, which lasts approximately 1 1/2 to 2 years. Another man may not touch the woman during this period, any more than her husband. This stipulation, however, seems to be little

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[574] luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges.

[701] The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el mōran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often

[582] enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. Another Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare [784]
[92] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

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[786] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

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602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous

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[572] as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night

• [837] by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

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[567] spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class [593] (both ol boror and ol adjl) of her husband and desires her. It is [837] [561] obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing [461] [462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married [517] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willingness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised el mēg as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

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182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
 165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
 854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
 362 among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
 853 health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
 146 screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
 856 stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
 164 organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the
 babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with
 the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in
 inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people
 full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of
 the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling
 out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the
 people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands
 of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the
 high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
 182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
 582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
 836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
 837 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the
 warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge
 this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain
 objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more
 leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite
 numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
 548 of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that pro-
 fessional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possi-
 bility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is un-
 doubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
 164 maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics)
 venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
 182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
 831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of
 the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among
 the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of